

# Third Way

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**Voice of the Radical Centre**

also in this issue:

*Failed Democracy*

*Stolen Future*

*An interview with  
Sue Tibballs*

*Reviewed: Speaking of  
Race, Speaking of Sex*

*A conversation with  
Rabbi Schiller*

**FOCUS**

**On**

**ULSTER**





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## Editorial. . . . .

The closure and bankruptcy of LM (formerly Living Marxism) following a costly libel battle against ITN is bad news for politics in Britain. I have attended several LM sponsored conferences and found the willingness of participants to "think the unthinkable" and challenge the consensus refreshing. For a while it looked as though real politics might be coming back into fashion. Even though we may seriously disagree with them at times, it's good to hear that those involved with LM will be active in a new venture, The Institute of Ideas.

For our part we continue to try to inject some variety into politics in the UK. As you can see, there have been major changes to the design and layout of this magazine. We are working on all aspects of communications strategy to get the Third Way message across.

That includes building a publishing house to bring back into print some old ideas worth reconsidering, as well as new ones worth implementing. In this issue we advertise a fascinating debate between George Bernard Shaw and G.K. Chesterton which should not merely be of interest to Socialists and Distributists, but to all who seek social or economic improvements. The internet means we are able to sell our publications direct, and thereby supplement traditional distribution methods.

Our website has, both at home and abroad, gained recognition as an interesting political resource, and we continuously assess new developments in communications with a view to further improving our presence. Politics at national and international levels is now verged on a state of flux as seldom before and, as the old systems and preconceptions become ever more obsolete, now is the time for alternative and forward-looking perspectives.



## NEWS IN BRIEF

New laws have been introduced by NuLab to prevent suspected "football hooligans" from travelling abroad. Our problem is with the word "suspected". No real proof of an intent to cause trouble or a record of doing is required. A case of guilty until proven innocent. A recent case saw the police trying to ban twins from travelling (although they admitted one had nothing to do with football violence) just in case his brother used his passport! A climate of repression has been created by such measures, Public Order and "Terrorism" legislation and the appointment of political advisors to the Police. The reaction from so-called civil liberties groups in the UK has been pathetic - the watchdogs that didn't bark. Once again the need for a genuine, broadly based, civil liberties campaign in the UK has been underlined.

*Jubilee 2000, a campaign born from the reading of Biblical scripture which demands a regular forgiveness of debt was surprisingly successful in a world environment dominated by multinationals and banks. Yet in spite of this the problem of debt remains. Saudi Arabia has become one of the most recent victims. Since the Gulf War they now spend about 12% of their budget servicing foreign debt. Per capita income has plunged from \$15,700 in 1980 to \$5700 today.*

In the May 2000 District and Parish elections, Brent Cheetham of Third Way, Editor of the Cuffley Courier, contested Northaw ward of Welwyn & Hatfield, and Northaw & Cuffley. His votes were 298 (21.87%) and 512 (39.41%), the latter in a straight fight. Brent is opposed by one of the most powerful Conservative Party machines in the entire country; indeed, there have been mutterings in the District that the local Tory leaders

had devoted so much of their effort and resources to competing against one candidate (none too successfully, as his vote and percentage again increased, a reversal of the Tory resurgence throughout the rest of England) that they ended up losing control of Welwyn & Hatfield District to Labour as a result. Well you might think that; we could not possibly comment....

Almost one quarter of the UK workforce now works at some point between 6pm and 6am. 15% are working all night. Megan Pacey of the Daycare Trust ([www.daycare.trust.org](http://www.daycare.trust.org)) says:- "It's clear that employers are expecting staff to work whatever hours are needed without seeing these as exceptional circumstances." There has been an erosion of premium payments for working outside of 9-5. People often receive no extra money. Take Sainsburys as an example. 36 stores of 437 Sainsbury's open all night at least one evening a week. In December the number will increase to 63. Staff are paid a premium for Sunday or if the shift covers midnight to 2am. They receive no extra pay if obliged to work up to midnight or start in the early hours.

The Summer 2000 issue of Whole Earth Magazine ([www.wholeearthmag.com](http://www.wholeearthmag.com)) deals with the topic "Beyond Left and Right". The editorial says that Third Way "successfully eludes the stock left/right labels with a set of positions (including support for ecology, decentralisation, regionalism, co-ops, a guaranteed basic income, opposition to the European Union, etc.) that defy easy categorization." It terms us "small but feisty" (perhaps thinking of Jeannie Trueman our National Organiser?).

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# Failed Dem

I suppose it all started for me late last year at a small hall in Lewisham, SE London. I was at a meeting entitled "Where now after Seattle?". The meeting itself was interesting enough, but it was organised by the Socialist Workers Party, and Socialism is something I've never really subscribed to. So I found myself rather overwhelmed by all the talk of new worlds and new orders, plus I was new to the "alternative politics" game and was more than a little nonplussed with some of the subjects being bandied about. I needed something I could understand, something which appealed to me, something I could get my teeth into.

Then someone handed me a leaflet. It was a small silver leaflet with the words "Stop the Terrorism Bill, London-April 30th" emblazoned upon the cover, inside was a short paragraph outlining what the Bill was about, then detailing the A30 event, and a little contact information. The leaflet itself was vague and didn't tell me that much apart from about the planned event, but it started me off on some fanciful ideas about a big three-piece article.... Part one: the lead up to the event; part two: at the event; part three: the aftermath. In the coming months I discovered that perhaps the campaign wasn't as big as I had fantasised about, but for the time being I kept dreaming. After the meeting I went home and pondered my next move.

My next move took a few months to happen. When I finally got round to it I rang and emailed some of the contacts on the leaflet, there was a number in Manchester, but despite numerous attempts to get an answer I never did; I also emailed the same people and again no response. However there was another phone number, lurking away at the bottom of the page, a number in Brighton, so I rang it and after a few attempts I got a reply, a reasonably positive one at that. They were a small group of individuals including the people behind *Schnews* (an alternative culture and activist politics newsletter) who were currently squatting in an old motorbike shop which they had converted into an anti Terrorism-bill community centre. This to me seemed like an excellent idea, it gave people the chance to go along, read the official government documents, read a few articles opposing the Bill, read some of the items that had appeared in the press, and make their own minds up. This was to be my next move.

Brighton's a funny old place; I suppose the two things it is remembered most for are being a pleasant little seaside resort and the Mods & Rockers. Well, in recent years it's developed a fair sized population of what used to be called "Crusties", but I don't know what they're referred to as now; basically people with an interest in lifestyles different to what we've all become accustomed to. After a quick stop at the arcades, I made my way to the community centre. When I arrived at the centre there were few people around the bar – the organisers, who were quite willing to just let me peruse a few documents and make notes.

Now I was realising what the Terrorism Bill was all about, I read a copy of the government document and although it was typically vague I started to understand what all the fuss was about; for those who don't know already let me just outline a few "features".... The most immediate is the re-definition of "terrorism":

*The use or threat, for the purpose of advancing a political,*

*religious or ideological cause, of action which –*  
*a) Involves serious violence against any person or property.*  
*b) Endangers the life of any person, or*  
*c) creates a serious risk to the Health or Safety of the public.*

I did, however, read an official document replacing "Health or Safety" with "Putting the Public in fear", which is a little more vague; the same document put international terrorists and animal-rights activists on the same level though, which was a little extreme. This new definition is apparently needed "To respond to a changing threat from whatever source" (Jack Straw), and rather typically of this Government the definition has been borrowed heavily from – surprise, surprise – the Americans (FBI). It seems to me and many others that the more serious forms of terrorism are already dealt with quite adequately by existing laws, and that this new definition is for some other reason.

Also there's the section that says you don't even have to be actively involved to be counted as a terrorist, just being present at a meeting or possessing a flyer or even wearing a badge is enough for a conviction. Perhaps more worryingly for people like myself is that even being in possession of "terrorist" information in a "professional capacity" is an offence; I regularly promote activist events, and that will make me a terrorist. It comes down to the fact that "terrorists" aren't entitled to as many legal rights as other criminals, meaning they're through the judicial system nice and quickly....

Anyway, there's plenty of articles and places to read the details; back to the community centre. Apart from the legal document itself there were various articles pinned to the walls from assorted publications, each offering different angles and opinions on the story but most, I must add, against the Bill. They all made interesting reading and offered everyone who dropped in a fair view of what was going on. I decided to return a little later and interview some of the "regulars". In between time I took the chance to gauge the opinion of Joe Public and found a distinct lack of knowledge about the Bill; however, when I explained the Bill to those I interviewed their attitudes towards it were far from positive. It seems that people are becoming more and more sceptical of the current Government, finding their policies and methods too extreme in some cases and the Terrorist Bill is a classic example. In a press release which accompanied the Bill, the government state that they "...would welcome views on whether its proposed definition succeeds in striking that balance..." (that balance meaning between a definition too wide or too narrow). So far though, the views of the public and of experts have gone unheard.



# ocracy by Chris Ward

I returned to the community centre a little later to find it slowly filling with people, so I took the opportunity to gauge a few opinions. The thing that surprised me most was, again, a lack of knowledge about the Bill, I thought this was meant to be a place for people to come and discuss ideas about the Bill! I suppose it was called a "community centre" for people to do what they wish.... I was just expecting a little more "activity", and I felt rather upset with their animosity towards the press. Despite this, interesting things were said, rumours and theories were banded about and it was at the very least an interesting experience, and left me with a mixed bag of negative and positive attitudes towards my experiences so far.

In the time until the A30 event nothing much in particular happened. I spent the time mulling over ideas and gathering as much paraphernalia regarding the Terrorist Bill as possible. Perhaps most interestingly I took the time to gather opinions of some fellow "journos". I found them to be as worried about it as the activists, especially the National Union of Journalists; it's a shame there's such a high level of animosity between the two groups. I also tried contacting the Home Office. My questions were answered (sort of...) by a representative of the "Terrorism Bill team", which struck me as strange—obviously they're anticipating a lot of "enquiries".

Things were then quiet until a sunny, muddy April the 30th. I was a little nervous about the event, not quite sure what to expect, leaflets and web promotions had said that there would be some sort of photo taken, but to "Come dressed as you would for direct action and dissent". This worried me a little, my fear being that a peaceful gathering would turn into something more ugly. Fortunately and gladly it was a very enjoyable event; very friendly and all worked out.

The basic plan was this: People turn up in assorted costumes representing various activist factions, then we all pose for a Sergeant Pepper style photo complete with cardboard cut-outs of famous historical figures who would be classed as Terrorists under the new legislation (Jesus, Nelson Mandela, Emily Pankhurst...) and then everyone sings "We all live in a failed democracy" to the tune of "Yellow Submarine". It was an excellent idea, it attracted people's attention, perhaps made them inquisitive and hopefully sympathetic to the cause. The organisers claim that they weren't pandering to the press, but I couldn't help feeling that such a media-friendly event wasn't designed that way. The Police presence was heavy handed and unnecessary to say the least, I even spotted a group playing football at one point, I've since found out that the Police were intelligence gathering for Mayday (Maybe I shouldn't have waved at their video camera?).

The one thing that disappointed me was the attitude of the press. They gathered in a huddle, didn't really mix

with anyone and were plain irritating; I can now understand peoples' negative feelings, it's just a shame we're all tarnished with the same brush. However the press the event received was on the whole positive, the exception being the Daily Mail's coverage.... it was reported on by the Crime correspondent who referred to us as a "hooded mob" who "goaded" the Police. Its writer has not replied to any of my comments (on the positive/negative side I can be clearly seen in the photo in the Mail). I decided to not announce my own Press status, as I felt it would give me a better insight of the event by mixing in and getting involved. I also feel that it shouldn't matter who or what I am, we're all affected. After it was over I left for home with a good feeling inside wondering what we'd possibly achieved.

Well, the Bill marches on, the third reading is taking place in July and the Bill should receive Royal Assent shortly (I don't suppose they'll have any qualms); the provisions it contains for Northern Ireland will be put in place almost immediately, and by early 2001 it will be in full effect. A few amendments have been made but they're all minor and unless there are any major objections soon (I'm talking full-scale riots or mass petitions) the Bill will become law. Very few MPs have opposed the Bill becoming law, and despite umpteen organisations objecting to its several infringements of Human Rights, it seems that Labour will continue pressing their sanitised, regulated version of Truth and Justice. Now with the announcement of £25 million of funding for a "spy centre" to monitor mobile phone calls and intercept e-mails, and the proposed "Freedom of Information" act, it's just another nail in the coffin.

As a prologue of sorts I received an e-mail containing answers to several questions I put to the Terrorism bill team at the home Office. It was addressed to my moniker, "Chris Chinchilla", and amusingly had the slogan "Building a safe, just and tolerant society" tacked on the bottom. The e-mail confirmed that the bill will indeed be law in early 2001 after various stages of commons approval which are currently ongoing. In answer to the criticism of not listening to oppositions from various groups, I was told that "The Government has considered opposition to the Bill and has had meetings with various official groups when Ministers have been able to answer questions and explain the provisions in the Bill", so basically that means they're not listening. Finally, they continued to hammer in the fact (not in those words, obviously!) that the government are trying their hardest to get the balance right, and to not keep slugging them off....

June 2000

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# Stolen! Future

by Dick Eastman

It is a bitter pill for middle-class baby boomers that their parents are dying without seeing the fabulous future which they once reasonably expected would emerge, certainly by now, from their years of collective sacrifice and toil....

No-one can deny that some marvels have been developed more or less as predicted fifty years ago. Consider, for example, the ease, speed and reliability with which one may join the global symposia on a newsgroup. Nevertheless, one need only peruse a few old magazines to see how very far today's world falls short of the old prospective "World of Tomorrow" our parents and grandparents were living to see.

Pick up a 1968 edition of McCall's magazine and you will find the entry form for a chance to win a voucher for an all-expense-paid trip to the moon with first-class lunar hotel accommodation, redeemable in 2001. Open a 1950s copy of Forbes and read John von Neumann predicting that by 1980 all "power" could be virtually costless, and that by 2000 the weather would be scientifically tamed for the benefit of farmers everywhere - not bothering to consider the use that international commodity speculators might make of such technology if they secretly got it first! Gaze at the fascinating cover art of an old issue of *Popular Mechanics* and read the caption: "Robots will be Waiting on You by 1970". Finally - if the poignancy is not already too much - peer into a 1966 issue of *American Home* and find the following:

By the turn of the next century only 10 percent of us will be engaged in "work". The computer and automation will relieve us of drudgery and allow 90 percent to spend time on whatever pleases them. The machines will do the work, create the wealth which will allow every family to follow the leisure path.

....the computer-financed economy will provide families with a guaranteed annual income, with cash to buy their own computer system.

....One expert has predicted, "With the machines taking on the tasks that now consume all but a fragment of our days, we will be free to undertake completely new tasks, most of them directed to perfecting ourselves, creating beauty, understanding one another better."

Certainly opportunities for further education,

development of talents in art, music, design, writing, will proliferate. The home-centered skills - gardening, cooking, sewing - will be approached not as make-work but as great works. ....We will want to create our own art forms and become artists at home.

How tragic that the average American adult today has 30 percent less leisure time than the day those words were written; that at this moment millions of people, too tired and otherwise constrained to enjoy once-normal social lives, fill their spare minutes with autistic sexuality (catch the euphemism here) fanned by curvacious patterns flashing on cathode-ray tubes or by hot-button words carried over Alexander Graham Bell's somewhat older invention, as the controlling few rake in the cash. The mind simply boggles at this and plentiful other evidence of the gigantic larceny that, blasting all dreams of futurity, has plunged the world's middle classes into today's debt-slavery backwash; the predictably non-utopian result of trying to tread standard-of-living water in foredoomed labor-service competition with the throw-away New Coolies of the billionaires' "global plantation".

How is it that we have inherited this world that we never wanted, a world more resembling C.M. Kornbluth's vision in his 1953 novel *The Syndic* of a society shaped and directed by organized-crime and aimed only at affording maximum individual sovereignty to its "friends"? "Individual sovereignty" is Lord Rees-Mogg's honorific term for the liberty of billionaires no longer bridled by governments of the people, by the people,... etc.... What happened?

Ironically enough, it was H.G. Wells, the twentieth century's leading apostle of Mankind's potential for a limitless future, who 50 years ago fully answered that question. During the first half of this century he assiduously championed the idea of "putting things in order" for the speedy attainment of a highly desirable worldwide scientific utopia. But Wells was also a well-connected and astute more-populist-than-Fabian social critic and the first popularizer of non-chauvinistic history from a species



perspective, a vantage point from which he eventually came to see the darker fate overtaking his civilization. His last two books, are, unfortunately, his most prophetic.

In his 1939 book *The Future of Man* (the USA title; it was published as *The Future of Homo Sapiens* elsewhere) Wells explained how the Anglo-American elites had recently grabbed the reigns of the collapsing liberalized world order of his time – that great, good, but never fully perfected achievement of nineteenth-century optimism and good will – and did so for their own self-serving and to hell with everyone else' ends :

The disintegrating British Empire is now, one has to recognize, a system of government almost completely out of popular control. Practically it has undergone a reactionary revolution in the last decade, and a loose-knit combination of court, church, army and wealth, intensely class conscious, intensely self-protective, has resumed control of affairs. It is an oligarchy skillful in assimilation of useful or formidable individuals but without the slightest disposition to amalgamate with anything else on earth. Its ruling motive is fear of dispossession. Decisions of peace and war are made without consulting any surviving popular will, and the whole capitalist press, the cinema, the radio and indeed all possible means of influencing opinion, concentrate upon the assertion of the rightness and inevitableness of these decisions. Dissent is a muffled and ineffective squeaking, and any inconvenient facts are kept from the public by requests for suppression that are in effect commands.

Such a development spells death to any hope of the majority of mankind to live any kind of rewarding, personal-achievement oriented, 'middle-class' life. In his last book, *Mind at the End of its Tether* (1945), Wells signs off with these words :

Homo Sapiens in his present form is played out. The stars in their courses have turned against him and he has to give place to some other animal better adopted to face the fate that closes in more swiftly upon mankind. ...The cinema sheet (ie. screen) stares us in the face... Our loves, our hates, our wars and battles are no more than phantasmagoria dancing on that fabric, themselves as unsubstantiated as a dream. ....There is no way through the impasse. It will be the Dark Ages over again, a planetary instead of a European Dark Ages.

The point of the present essay is not, as Wells' final words might suggest, that we give up and trust in some fabled space aliens to genetically engineer mankind's more-promising replacement! Nor is it that we must avenge our betrayed parents by killing off the billionaires, as no doubt a few today would privately contemplate. Rather, we must attack the root of why our future was lost, and do what must be done to get it back again. To that end I conclude with these words, written at about the same time as those of Wells, the creed of a little man who excelled even Wells as a true friend of mankind's

future :

Exploitation of the poor can be extinguished not by effecting the destruction of a few millionaires, but by removing the ignorance of the poor and teaching them to non-cooperate with their exploiters.

The moment the slave resolves that he will no longer be a slave, his fetters fall. He frees himself and shows the way to others. Freedom and slavery are mental states. Therefore the first thing is to say to yourself, "*I shall no longer accept the role of a slave. I shall not obey orders as such but shall disobey when they are in conflict with my conscience.*" The so-called master may lash you and try to force you to serve him. You may say, "*No, I will not serve you for your money or under threat.*" This may mean suffering. Your readiness to suffer will light the torch of freedom which will never be put out.

There certainly is unfailing hope for a future in that.

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## MAGAZINE APPEAL

**We wish to improve the production of this magazine and train new members in desktop publishing and design. We want our publicity material to be of a high standard so that our policies can be communicated effectively to a wider audience. All this involves an outlay. As ever we rely on the generous spirit of our readers and their desire to promote radical change in this country. Please send your donation to: THIRD WAY, PO Box 1243, London. SW7 3PB. If you would like to make a regular donation by Standing Order or would like details of how to go about leaving a legacy, please send for details to the same address.**





**Cliff**  
(3W website editor/designer, chairman 3W Communications Department)



"Make the red lights turn green...."

## STRATEGY

# Elections - Where are we now?

By Graham Williamson

Our record in local elections is a good one. Our strategy has been to campaign hard on community issues and produce regular local newsletters. With the exception of an earlier period where we encouraged candidates with little or no community experience to stand the results have reflected the hard work carried out in the wards.

Cuffley has seen a steady increase in the 3W vote to a point where we have obtained our highest ever percentage (39) as well as the best 'positional' vote (second with 20%). This can be attributed to effects of the pre-election newsletter(s) and a popular and well known candidate.

If we are able to firm-up soft support and involve more local people in our community politics prospects are good.

In Romford and Hornchurch 3W have polled respectable votes (20% in Elm Park & 13% in Airfield). The present trend cannot be judged so readily since local elections are only every 4 years but for the last three polls the Elm Park vote has remained static. Here we need to produce our newsletter more regularly and broaden the range of issues we campaign on. Romford & Hornchurch hope to stand in up to three seats capitalising upon the ward boundary changes. Predicting our future Elm Park vote is a problem due to the boundary changes.

### Entrenchment

Pat Harrington has pointed out that we should like the Romans build a fort wherever we rest. As part of this philosophy he urged the Party to contest all levels of elections in our target areas. This was to encourage the formation of a core of voters who always voted 3W. Contrary to this policy, however, we did not offer candidates at the last Euro elections or for the London Assembly. **The main reason for this was a lack of funds.** If we do not improve our ability to raise funds our political ambitions will remain just that - ambitions.

It is likely that we may have suffered some meltdown in our core vote. Cuffley is a different electoral situation, as in that area (local) elections are more frequent than in Havering with its four-year gaps.

The last General Election votes represented our poorest vote overall; though if viewed in a longer term perspective our public image was actually enhanced, and a foundation was laid for future support. Several factors combined to produce this:

\* A lack of name and policy recognition, both nationally and locally (the target wards represented a comparatively small proportion of the parliamentary constituencies)

\* An election address aimed at a politicised audience rather than voters

\* Underfunded campaigns

### Should we stand ?

Should we stand in the forthcoming General Election? Well, we must learn from last time. Our name and policy recognition will have improved but we will need to expand this from the target wards to the larger constituency via letters to the press, press statements and advertisements. Any election address must be aimed principally at the voters. Our campaigns must be well funded. We must communicate effectively and constructively with those who enquire for further information.

### The bottom line

We hope to stand in three constituencies. We will therefore need to raise between £3,000 and £4,500. The good news, however, is that we have raised £1,600 already because many who donated to our abortive GLA fund told us to put the money by for the General election. That leaves between £1,400 and £2,900 to raise. The lower target is a bare minimum whereas the higher figure would allow more professional campaigns. 3W has shown that it will work tirelessly to bring our message before the voters. Our candidates are prepared to take on the big party machines and harry them at every turn. We need your help if we are to back our candidates with **modern, effective** campaigns. We are launching our appeal now so that we are ready for the fray. Please use a photostat of the form below or send your donation with a covering letter.

I would like to donate to the Third Way election fund and enclose a donation of

10 ☐ 25 ☐ 50 ☐

100 ☐ 150 ☐ 200 ☐ 250 ☐ 500 ☐

Other amount £ . p

Name

Address\*

\*(to comply with new legislation if your donation is above £200 please give us the address where you appear on the electoral register)

Please address cheques/postal orders  
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Hornchurch  
Essex RM12 4PJ





# An Interview with Sue Tibballs

## author of The Sexual Renaissance

What do you see as the main focus of your report?

I see the main focus of the report being the dislocation it identifies between the public gender debate, and people's actual experience and concerns. Because the report looks at both attitudes to the gender debate, and the way we think about sex differences, I feel it gives a revealing insight into why most of us feel so ambivalent about 'gender issues' and particularly political responses. At the same time, it points to the dangers of not re-engaging interest in the gender debate – ultimately that the two things people emphatically say they do not want – sex war and inequality – will be perpetuated. The new approach outlined is intended to influence those opinion formers and policy makers who are in a position to steer a new path in the public gender debate, as well as give encouragement to individuals to feel able to raise gender-based concerns.

The survey indicates that the dominant culture is still seen as male and that women are at a disadvantage in the workplace. Yet it also indicates that sex differences are not seen as political issues. Why is this so?

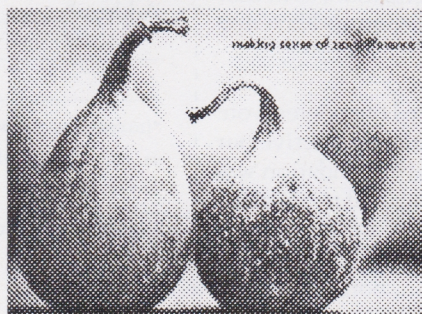
The research conducted for the report discovered a huge degree of dissatisfaction amongst women with the workplace, yet at the same time, as you say, a reluctance to raise this debate with senior management or the board, or to support wider political campaigns. The reasons for this are several, I think: One, women are very concerned not to be seen as 'feminist'. Women's political activism has always been pilloried and ridiculed in the popular press, and these stereotypes have stuck. Women simply do not want

to be associated with these images, even if they know deep down that they are false. On a deeper level, I think women's political activism has always been presented as essentially unfeminine, so that women who raise political issues are made to feel that in so doing they are somehow betraying their sex. Related to this is the wider problem of being seen as a trouble-maker or kill joy in the workplace – in fact, women in many industries are going out of their way to be seen as 'one of the lads'. They do not want to risk their popularity by complaining. Two, women are unsure whether complaining about their own situation somehow implies that all women are victims, and that all men have got it good. They can see that this is not true, and that some men feel as strongly as other women about what are called 'women's issues'. The fear is that by complaining on gender grounds, these women will feel they are reinforcing sex stereotypes and antagonisms between the sexes, when in fact what they want is the opposite. They want their issues and concerns to be seen as issues affecting everybody – whether they are about workplace culture or worker policies – and for them to be taken up centrally by management.

Work/life issues are a good example – this happens to be a problem for more women than men because women continue to do most of the caring, but most women are also looking to the day when this work is more evenly shared, and so do not want to marginalise men out of the debate. I realise I have misread your question as you are asking whether the political parties are doing enough. I will leave the above in as this may be useful, and no – the political parties are not doing enough! Not nearly, although Labour have made significant steps in this term.

Your report points to a number of work place issues such as provision of quality affordable childcare, rights for part-time workers and a positive

## the sexual renaissance



by sue tibballs



**approach to career breaks. Do you think that the political parties are addressing these issues?**

Social issues are increasingly being seen as private responsibilities because of both the lack of a clear analysis of where shared interests lie, and because of the dominance of a particular understanding of 'the market'. On the former, our understanding of modern gender relations has not kept pace with the changing nature of in/equality between the sexes. In the absence of a clear analysis, real problems, such as that those faced by working mothers, for example, are presented as private responsibilities, rather than social challenges requiring a public response. For example, women's entry into the workplace under the name of liberation is actually no real liberation at all if the unpaid work they did previously is not alternatively provided for. Currently, the language of 'choice' suggests women do not have to work if they do not want to, and those that do should make their own provision for childcare and other domestic responsibilities. In fact, most households cannot survive on one income alone, so women have little choice about working, and little choice about child-care so they know they cannot afford to pay for it. Hence childcare is still overwhelmingly provided free by other family members. If women were really to have 'choice' they would need access to free or subsidised child-care. In the absence of it, they will continue to perform their traditional role unpaid, and gender inequality will continue. My argument is that if we do not see gender relations in their full social context we miss the real story behind gender inequality. On an individual level, the sexes appear equal because they have equal rights and equal legal protection. Only if we look at the actual lives of men and women in their social context do we see where the barriers to greater gender equality remain.

**Why do you think that "social issues are increasingly seen as private responsibilities"? What has created the trend toward 'individualistic negotiation' on gender and other issues?**

On the market, this is familiar, but the current prejudice within market economics is that the market is allergic to social justice, and cannot be interfered with without risking economic collapse. So, while employers are asked to do more to support parents at work, it all remains voluntary because the CBI says business cannot afford it. (They also said the same about the minimum wage, and have had to admit they were wrong). A business that cannot survive without denying employers basic entitlements is not to my mind a viable business. Having employer support to look after children or other dependents should be a basic

entitlement in a modern society. Using the market as an argument why this cannot be done is a misrepresentation of the purpose of the market. The market can and will deliver what we want it to. It is a means of negotiation above all else, and we can factor in the criteria we feel are important. I say support for women and men to share traditional roles more equally is a fairly consensual want. We should make the market deliver this for us – if the private sector is unwilling to do this voluntarily, the government should legislate.

**It seems sad that the attempt to relate "the personal and cultural to the economic and political" as Lynne Segal puts it has been castigated and demonised. How can we create a public sphere where gender issues are seriously debated?**

Creating a public sphere where gender issues are seriously debated is going to take a sea change in the attitudes and approach of both the opinion formers and policy makers, and those who manage public debate – the media. It would be easy to blame the media more – they are, after all, incredibly lazy about questioning the way they take advantage of powerful if unhelpful social stereotypes – but I tend to feel we get the media we deserve. I, therefore, am appealing to those in government and public bodies, such as the Equal Opportunities Commission, to re-think their strategy and communications. They are currently putting out very mixed messages, and often missing the point, as the WI incident showed. And also to those who are active in the gender debate to put out a clear analysis of modern gender relations, and to do more to encourage others to participate in the debate. I do a lot of work with the advertising industry, for example, where there is widespread frustration about the way women are treated in the industry and in advertising itself. People in this industry could be galvanised to be much more active with a bit of encouragement and support. Barriers between such people and political activists are more cultural than conceptual, so are relatively easy to overcome.

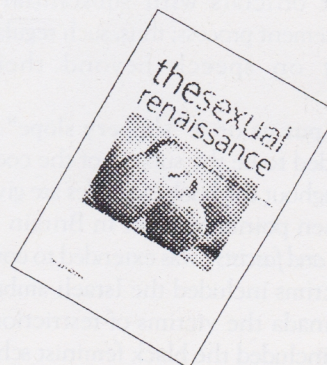
**How far is the media responsible for blaming women for social ills and presenting gender issues as conflicts between men and women?**

On the media, as above. However, I do still get incredibly frustrated with the mainstream media, and have to learn to rely on a few individuals who I know will write responsibly and constructively. I wish there were more of them, and long may they live!

To order a copy of *The Sexual Renaissance* please send a cheque for £7.50 payable to Women's Communication Centre to:

The Beacon  
42b Richmond Road  
Kingston upon Thames  
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Pat Harrington reviews

## Speaking of Race, Speaking of Sex : Hate Speech, Civil Rights and Civil Liberties

by Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Anthony P. Griffin, Donald E. Lively,  
Robert C. Post, William B. Rubenstein, and Nadine Strossen

New York University Press. ISBN 0814730906

Instinctively, most decent people don't like to see anyone singled out and denigrated unfairly. To most, it seems particularly distasteful if the denigration is on the basis of race, gender or (to many, at least) sexual orientation. Yet the authors of this book, all of whom are active in campaigns for equality as well as for civil liberties, see codes on US campuses which prohibit and punish such speech as a threat.... Why?

Their book examines the arguments for and against such codes and the issues that underlie them. Objections to these codes include that :

**They are a threat to basic free speech principles.** In particular the idea that speech should be protected regardless of its content or viewpoint – a principle intended to prevent the law from favouring one interest over another.

**They have a chilling effect on wider discourse.** Nadine Strossen points out that : Regardless of how carefully these rules are drafted, they inevitably are vague and unavoidably invest officials with substantial discretion in the enforcement process; thus, such regulations exert a chilling effect on speech beyond their literal bands.<sup>1</sup>

**They put us on a "slippery slope".** Ideas not originally intended to be the subject of the codes will be penalised. Throughout the book examples are given of this happening. Strossen points out that in Britain the "No Platform for racists and fascists" was extended to cover Zionism (whereby its victims included the Israeli ambassador to the UK).<sup>2</sup> In Canada the victims of restrictions of free expression have included the black feminist scholar Bell Hooks, and a gay & lesbian bookshop in Toronto.<sup>3</sup>

Much the same issue was raised by me from the floor of an LM sponsored conference at which one of the authors (Nadine Strossen) spoke; it was pointed out that the Public Order Act of 1936, which was ostensibly introduced to control the followers of British Fascist leader Oswald Mosley, had been invoked time and time again to ban demonstrations by leftists and trade unionists. Similarly, police tactics used against the National Front in the 1980s to prevent their coaches from reaching demonstrations were later employed against striking miners.

The book's authors note that the codes give power to institutions and government. Can we trust them with these new powers? As David Coles, a law professor at Georgetown University, wrote :

*...in a democratic society the only speech government is likely to succeed in regulating will be that of the politically marginalised. If an idea is sufficiently popular, a representative government will lack the political wherewithal to suppress it, irrespective of the First Amendment. But if an idea is unpopular, the only thing that may protect it from the majority is a strong constitutional norm of content neutrality.<sup>4</sup>*

Donald E. Lively questions how new powers will be exercised :

*Reliance upon a community to enact and enforce protective regulation when the dominant culture itself has evidenced insensitivity toward the harm for which sanction is sought does not seem well placed. A mentality that trivialises incidents such as those Lawrence relates is likely to house the attitudes that historically have inspired the turning*



of racially significant legislation against minorities.<sup>5</sup>

But perhaps Ira Glasser puts it best in her introduction to the book :

First, the attempt by minorities of any kind – racial, political, religious, sexual – to pass legal restrictions on speech creates a self-constructed trap. It is a trap because politically once you have such restrictions in place the most important questions to ask are: Who is going to enforce them? Who is going to interpret what they mean? Who is going to decide whom to target?

The answer is: those in power.<sup>6</sup>

Another condemnation is that the codes are an exercise in self-indulgency, a trivialisation of real racial imperatives by the pursuit of relatively marginal and debatable concerns....

Donald E. Lively states :

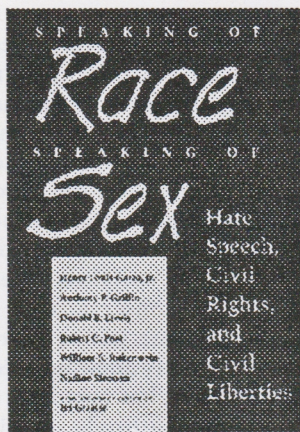
As a method for progress, however, protocolism (1) seriously misreads history and disregards evolving social and economic

against censorship or punishment, unless shown likely to produce a clear and present danger of a serious substantive evil that rises far above public inconvenience, annoyance or unrest. There is no room under our Constitution for a more restrictive view. For the alternative would lead to standardisation of ideas either by legislatures, courts, or dominant political or community groups.<sup>8</sup>

The second argument – that racist, sexist or homophobic statements are group libels – is likewise dismissed. The authors point out that libel involves the publication of information about someone that is both damaging and false. Apart from the obvious fact that group libel doesn't refer to an individual does it fit the definition? Henry Louis Gates Jr. states that it does not. He points out that racist statements may be right or wrong but cannot in many forms be judged true or false. they are often statements of what the individual thinks should be or an expression of feeling. As Gates points out : *You cannot libel someone by saying 'I despise you', which seems to be the essential message of most racial epithets.*<sup>9</sup>

The last argument – that such speech represents an assault or words that wound – is examined, and also dismissed. The authors accept that words can cause harm. Their concern, however, is that no code can be drawn in such a way as to punish only words which stigmatise and dehumanise. They point out that the most harmful forms of racist language are precisely those that combine insult with advocacy – those that are in short the most political.<sup>10</sup> Attempts to deny that racist speech has a political content also deny that they are part of a larger mechanism of political subordination.

So, can we combat hatred on grounds of race, gender or sexual preference whilst cherishing and nurturing civil liberties? Can we encourage a diversity of thought as well as of population and lifestyle? The answer given by the authors of this book is an emphatic 'yes'. They don't see equality of opportunity and freedom of expression as being at odds. As such, their ideas are refreshing in contrast to the many who seem to have quite unthinkingly accepted that we must sacrifice our freedom on an altar of (faked) equality.



conditions, (2) is an exercise in manipulating and avoiding racial reality; and (3) represents a serious misallocation of scarce reformist resources.<sup>7</sup>

Speaking of Race, Speaking of Sex doesn't just put the arguments against speech codes – it also deconstructs the arguments put in their favour. The three most interesting arguments in favour of such codes are, in my view, (1) that racist expression is not about truth or an attempt to persuade and so is not worthy of protection; (2) that racist declarations are in fact group libels; and (3) that racist expression is akin to an assault.

All three arguments are dismissed by the authors. In the first case, Justice Douglas is approvingly quoted :

(A) function of free speech under our system of government is to invite dispute. It may indeed best serve its high purpose when it induces a condition of unrest, creates dissatisfaction with conditions as they are, or even stirs people to anger. Speech is often provocative and challenging. It may strike at prejudices and preconceptions and have unsettling effects as it presses for acceptance of an idea. This is why freedom of speech, though not absolute is nevertheless protected

1 Speaking of Race, Speaking of Sex page 207.

2 *ibid.* page 226.

3 *ibid.* page 43.

4 *ibid.* quoted page 42.

5 *ibid.* page 74.

6 *ibid.* page 7.

7 *ibid.* page 65.

8 *Terminiello v. Chicago*, 337 US.1(1949) at 4.5 quoted in Speaking of Race, Speaking of Sex page 219.

9 Speaking of Race, Speaking of Sex page 30.

10 *ibid.* page 26.



# A conversation with Rabbi Mayer Schiller - July 13th 2000



David Kerr, Rabbi Schiller and Mrs Schiller (mother of Rabbi)

**Rabbi Mayer Schiller has been a friend of the Third Way movement since its formation in 1990. This year he spent the Twelfth Week of July in Ulster. Here he is in conversation with Ulster Nation editor David Kerr.**

**Would you describe yourself as a cultural conservative?**

Well, certainly as far as contemporary terminology goes that's an accurate description, although what we call 'conservatism' today would simply be considered normal life fifty years ago or a hundred years ago. There aren't two sides on questions of basic decency, respect and modesty. I really think there aren't two sides to these issues so if conservatism implies acceptance to this other illegitimate side I reject it, but I think that in terms of modern terminology it is a fair description. I would consider myself an ecumenical cultural conservative in that I respect all peoples who have a sense of gratitude to their past and who value their own heritage and faith. Obviously not if they are idol worshippers but if they're worshipping God, I would say I value people who have gratitude to the past in their own faith in their own communities.

**So that would be not just Orthodox Judaism but Protestantism, traditional Catholicism and Islam: That sort of thing?**

I think that all these people are very dear to God and are fulfilling His will on earth and will be rewarded in Heaven.

**How does this conservative view work itself out in practical terms? Do you find yourself in 'strange company'?**

Well, I don't think the company's so strange. There is a natural allegiance between all men who value their Faith and their cultures and it's just, I think, a short-sightedness and links to painful pasts that sometimes doesn't allow us to realise that commonality. So, I don't think it's strange that I feel a sense of affinity to traditionalist Catholics, or Afrikaner South Africans and American traditionalists. In my experience travelling in very traditional, what would be called 'right wing' circles in America, Europe and South Africa, I have almost never met any one who, once they realised what my position is, is not willing to accept me. This is despite the fact that there has been animosity between Jews and so-called 'right wing' types. I've found, by and large, once they have realised that this commonality exists that any animosity disappears.

**You have spoken positively of conservative values. However, last year the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, speaking at his party conference were blamed virtually all the ills of the world - from the assassination of Martin Luther King to discontent amongst staff in our National Health Service on the 'forces of conservatism'. Tories, racists, Irish republicans, Ulster loyalists, Scottish nationalists and even old-style members of the Labour Party - real socialists - were all equally condemned as 'forces of conservatism'. Such people had to be fought, wiped out, put in their boxes and locked away. It was a truly amazing speech. I don't think that anything like it has ever been seen in British politics before. Does that attitude surprise you?**

I think that the 'Left' is very rapidly, around the world, abandoning the pretence of real liberalism, in the sense of tolerance and debate. The Left today thrives on the stifling of debate. In some countries today, they are declaring certain thoughts and ideas illegal. In other countries, they're just destroying people's livelihoods and lives if they question their dogmas. I think this is an attempt at mind control and that the so-called Dark Ages no way equalled at all this attempt to control what people are and are not allowed to think. I would suggest that maybe the reason for it is that this kind of whacko-Leftism is so implausible and so goes against what we see in our own daily lives that you can only enforce it with a heavy hand.

It runs counter to what we all see and experience every day. Everybody knows that our cities have been destroyed by liberalism. Everybody knows all this. That's why the only way to enforce it is by saying that if you question our dogmas we will punish you.

**Yes, that's interesting. In tonight's *Belfast Telegraph*, a member of the Scottish parliament, John McCallion, has called for restrictions on Scottish bands travelling to Ulster for the Twelfth because it's possible that they might - only 'might', mind you - go to Drumcree or somewhere else solely to cause trouble. Now that is by no means objective. He is saying that the very fact**



that these bands are getting on a boat and coming to Ulster means that they are going to cause trouble and they must be stopped. This appears to me to be symptomatic of this mentality of control that is so typical of the liberal-left and New Labour.

There's a book that is almost prophetic as we look back on it. It was the third volume of C S Lewis's space trilogy, called *That Hideous Strength*. He describes this coalition between government and media and universities to suppress dissent and thought. To this man McCallion, these bands represent something that he doesn't want to have to deal with. He would rather lock them up and throw away the key. He doesn't want to debate with them. He doesn't want to discuss anything with them. They represent everything he detests. I think if we go back to that Tony Blair quote that perhaps he's on to something in that he's recognising the essential unity of culturally conservative forces when he throws them all together. He's right. These are in a sense united. Maybe he's on to something that many cultural conservatives have yet to understand - the essential unity we have.

Hmm, that's a point. I think that most people when they read it went open-mouthed with astonishment, but perhaps these 'forces of conservatism' do stand in the way of Tony Blair's grand project. Abroad he's literally put people in boxes; at home he's bringing in very repressive legislation. This football hooliganism bill he's rushing through parliament will take passports off people who have the 'wrong tattoos' or people who have no criminal convictions but whom they suspect might possibly perhaps in certain circumstances do something criminal. All due process has gone. All this Magna Carta stuff that has built up over centuries that you don't deprive anyone of their rights unless they have committed a crime and been convicted of that offence by due process of law has gone out the window. It's been replaced by, 'We think that you might do something wrong. We don't like the look of you, so we're taking away your right to travel.'

I don't mean in any way to condone violence for the sake of violence but I think that in the extreme loyalty of many football supporters there is that sense of memory, of loyalty to one's parents and grandparents - to one's place. In the soul of that - and it is very often distorted in bad ways - but in the soul of that, lies something which Blair can't tolerate. So he's got to stop that. We've got to be without any sense of loyalty to anything except this New World Order. I don't want to use this in the sense of a conspiracy, but there is a philosophy of destroying all local faith and allegiances.

Yes, I can accept that. I don't believe in any grand over-arching conspiracy set down by somebody in the United Nations or whatever, but there is a global convergence. Tony Blair and Bill Clinton are soul brothers in this respect. One time Tony is cajoling Bill to act in a certain way - 'Let's bomb these Serbs', for example - and sometimes it's the other way around. Bill is urging Tony to do something for him.

I don't know Blair at all, but in the case of Clinton, I think it has a lot to do with career advancement and the amorality of the man. Maybe Blair means it more sincerely which might be worse. In that sense, I think that Hillary Clinton is worse than Bill. If Bill smelled that the path

to power was to join the Ku Klux Klan I think he would do so. She probably wouldn't.

There are interesting parallels between both men. Hillary is a very high-powered lawyer. So is Cherie Booth, Tony's wife. She is a very highly paid professional barrister. This whole thing about shaping the law to reflect liberal-leftist values under the agenda of so-called 'human rights' is all part of the same pattern. It's trying to mould us all to conform. Blair talks about New Labour, New Britain, New This, New That. He never says 'The Labour Party believes' Now some people within his party believe that he has cut his party off from its roots and led it into this pinko-liberalism of the PC brigade. It's quite amusing, because the Trade Union movement pays a lot of Labour's bills but it is getting very little for it. New Labour is cut away from traditional working class socialist roots. I sometimes get the impression that these NuLab people actually despise the very working class folk that Labour once identified with.

That's an excellent point. In the little I've read in terms of biography of the Clintons you find that they are very cruel to the people that work around the White House. Whenever they do come in contact with working class people their arrogance and disdain comes out. So, I don't think that this has anything to do with traditional socialism, which although I might have some quibble with, was motivated by a sincere desire to alleviate a lot of economic and social ills that came in the wake of the industrial revolution. I don't think that's what a Clinton or a Blair is concerned with at all. I think they're concerned with essentially keeping in power these totalitarian leftists by bribing a certain underclass with the money of the rest of the nation and by combining the university and media elites with this underclass. I think that what happens in Great Britain is that a lot of traditional Labour voters haven't figured out yet that these people are not their friends at all. They continue to vote as their fathers and grandfathers voted. This is a grave mistake.

There have been some recent straws in the wind. Tony Blair addressed a meeting of the Women's Institute, a respectable 'backbone of England' group with a strong rural base. These matronly women actually booed, hissed and slow-handclapped him. The pictures of him that day actually reminded me of Ceausescu on the balcony on the day he made his fateful speech when he lost the confidence of the Romanian people. The old tricks just didn't seem to work. It suggests that not everyone is as happy with Tony Blair as was the case in May 1997 when he was elected.

The problem with reversing the trend is that the educational system and the media cut the soul out of people. They eliminate from the public the ability to have a critical sense towards a Clinton or a Blair. Let's face it. TV is the moulder of the minds of most young people today - indeed most middle-aged people today. South Africa, up until the mid 1970s, forbade television. I think that if you want to chart the course of the destruction of that nation then you have to look towards the letting in of television. I was thinking when I was watching some of the Twelfth of July parades that a lot of the young people have to be very confused. On the one hand they are inheriting this deeply traditional culture with all its symbols and rituals and its deeply traditional Faith from parents and grandparents. On the other hand television



and maybe the schools bombard them with a whole different worldview. It's got to be very confusing to kids caught in this tremendous battle for their souls, especially here in Ulster where the culture has its eye towards the past.

That's an interesting point. There is, I suppose, a certain tension in that but you can see that the culture still seems to be carrying on. There are young people in the bands. This tension could possibly cause a later breakdown. So far, though, it has remained vital. You've seen upwards of 50,000 people today turning up at Scarva.

Will the kid who is wearing an earring today be wearing a bowler hat tomorrow?

We'll leave that thought hanging. If I understand you, then, you would identify television as one of the main corrosive sources in Western Society. Is this so?

Well, television, movies and music. All three.

But television is probably the most powerful of these media. Most people watch it. Parents often use it as a babysitter. I just read a book by Peter Hitchens, *The Abolition of Britain*, and he is strong in his accusations against television. We have a television programme here called *Grange Hill*. It's about a fictional comprehensive school. Hitchens often wonders if people of a certain age actually remember what really happened to them in school or whether they are having 'false memory syndrome' of what they saw on *Grange Hill* in 1980.

To me, it is astonishing how people of a certain age cannot be completely horrified by what has become of schooling and education and the media. Don't they recall the essentially sound, respectful educational institutions they went to in the fifties and early sixties? I think that the mid-sixties are the effective cut-off date. Some one used the phrase 'the great eclipse' to describe the post mid-sixties. People my age should remember that sanity at one time prevailed. It's astonishing to think that they're not up in arms.

So far, especially in the grammar schools, a lot of that has been resisted here. A very strong lobby is under way for the abolition of selection in education and for an end to streaming by ability. In England they have gone for comprehensive education in which students of all abilities are all thrown in together. What happens is that those who don't want to learn mess about in class and this ruins things, breaks down discipline and causes difficulties for those who do want to learn.

Yes. Anyone, to my mind, who does any teaching, has to realise that's what you face. You can't teach like that.

So, we still have streaming here but the liberals are trying to abolish it. Now that Sinn Féin holds the Department of Education portfolio at Stormont - and they swallow the whole liberal-leftist ideology - it is quite likely that selection in education will be abolished within a year or two. That will put education here on the slippery slope to destruction.

What's going to have to happen, if you're at all serious,

is that you'll have to establish a private school system, a privately funded school system. The Afrikaners only understood this much too late and because of this they lost a lot of their children.

There is already a small 'independent Christian school' system. The State will give out money to private schools but it requires nominees to be placed on the Board of Governors and seeks to give some direction to the form of direction to the form of education taught by such schools. These independent Christian schools don't want to be bound by the conditions of state directions. They have totally opted out of everything.

Well, to me it's the only way to go at a certain point, once the whole liberal-leftist dogma becomes part of government policy although it's still being resisted as you say. But take what they call the issue of homosexuality. They are going to say that you can't teach that it is a sin. I'm sure they'll say that at a certain point. How can you run a Protestant school, or a Catholic school for that matter, without saying that it is a sin? That's the kind of reason why you are going to have to eventually have your own school system - or have a government that is your own government!

The whole system that you once described as 'insipid liberal relativism' and called the 'philosophical law of the land' seems to me to be the philosophical law of the whole Western world.

Yes. It's just the West. It's not in the Islamic world, which remains free of it to a large extent. I think that's something that Western traditionalists should think about a lot more - that their enemies are not Islamic people that take Islam seriously.

I would like to move on to address matters in the United States. A lot of Ulsterfolk identify with America, particularly with the Southern parts, which are areas which were settled by Ulster-Scots or 'Scotch-Irish' as they're called over there. Places like the Carolinas and Virginia. There has been a certain affinity with the South. One of the South's politicians, who is reputedly friendly with Dr Ian Paisley is Strom Thurmond. Some time ago you reviewed a book on him in *Third Way* magazine. In 1948, he warned that the resulting civil strife in the event of forced racial integration of all facilities "may be horrible beyond imagination. Chaos will prevail. Our streets will be unsafe and there will be



Even KFC can't avoid being drawn in!



the greatest breakdown of law enforcement in the history of the nation." For me, as an interested outsider looking in now over fifty years later, I would say that this man was a prophet. He had it spot on. So what happened to Strom Thurmond? This man who foretold all this also said that there were not enough troops in the US army to force Southerners to accept racial integration. Then I find out that this same man sponsored a Bill to make Martin Luther King's birthday a public holiday. He must be well into his nineties, but he's still around. However, instead of saying, "Wow! I was a prophet. What did I tell you? It's all come true." He seems to have gone into an 180 degree turn away from all of this. What happened to Strom Thurmond and is it symptomatic of a lot of people in the South?

The collapse of the Southern resistance has always been a fascinating topic to me. Here were people who in the mid-fifties were saying that they would never abandon their way of life. Ten years later it was all over. The Supreme Court decision was in 1954 and by 1967 or so they had lost every battle. There is integration of public accommodation, schooling, everything. Now you don't hear any of their previous ideas mentioned by the same politicians by and large. There was a lot of bluff and bluster, a lot of angry rhetoric and when push came to shove there was surrender and a complete turning of their collective backs on their own people and their own traditions. It was similar, I think, with the National Party in South Africa, which was founded to protect the Afrikaner and which became the vehicle for the destruction of Afrikanerdom. There seems to be a dangerous tendency to confuse romantic rhetoric, imagery of verbal firmness with the reality of clear strategy and tactics. When you think that in the fifties they had all these rallies and they played Dixie, they waved thousands of Confederate flags and the politicians would say, 'Never, never, never!' and ten years later there were no more flags, no more Dixie, no more rallies. It was the substitution of a kind of psychological soothing ritual of defiance for the reality of how one could actually accomplish something.

That all sounds terribly and scarily familiar to me because I can see similar defiant rhetoric on the lips of some Ulster politicians. It's ending up in sullen compliance and possibly even more than that as things move along. There do seem to me to be some parallels, but Gerry Adams, the Sinn Féin leader uses imagery in which he calls Portadown 'Ireland's Alabama'.

Oh. But isn't it Protestants who want the freedom to march?

Yes.

Well, the analogy doesn't quite hold there, does it?

You know, you're right. We'll have to pick Mr Adams up on that the next time he uses that comparison. He also compares the Orange Order to the Ku Klux Klan. He doesn't mean it as a compliment.

That's silly. You know, it would be presumptuous of me to have clear opinions on the situation here in Ulster. I'm just beginning to study it and to become familiar with it, so I don't want to put forth things in an absolutely final way. I'm still in the middle of my studying, reading and visiting, but two things do strike me here. First, though I understand very much the sentimental ties to Great Britain

and how much blood they regard has been invested in the linkage to Great Britain there comes a point when you have to realise that Great Britain is not what it once was. The desire to preserve one's own heritage, religion and cultural identity is not going to be aided by Great Britain. It is going to be hindered by it. The government - certainly the Labour government, but even the Conservatives and even the Monarchy - does not really have any sympathy for the things that people here cherish. Ulsterfolk have my sympathy in their sentimental ties, but I think it is an error and they have to move beyond that to some idea of independence for themselves. Britain's not their friend anymore. It's painful to recognise but it's a fact. The other thing is maybe going to be even more controversial to your readers. I understand the importance of Protestant faith to Protestant people but in many areas there are a lot of similarities between the Catholic population of this country with the Protestant population. I think that any ultimate solution here is going to have to create space for both these cultures to live and fulfil themselves. I know that republican violence makes this difficult to do but there has to be some involvement in the direction of reaching out and dealing with traditional Catholics and people that value their heritage. Maybe it's presumptuous of me to say these two things. I might not know enough but these are first impressions.

I appreciate that. Interestingly enough, New Labour is trying to push a revision of the law regarding abortion in Ulster. The law here is still that of the 1920s. Basically, it only allows for abortion when the mother's life is in immediate danger. That kind of abortion is legal here, so you'd probably only get perhaps thirty or so of these in a year. Apart from that, all other abortion is child destruction and is not legal. The 1967 Act, which has led to some five and a half million abortions in Great Britain, does not yet apply here. NuLab is trying to put through so-called 'reform' of the law to bring it into line with that in England and Wales. There is, however, widespread opposition among all the parties here - the SDLP, the unionist parties and even Sinn Féin. Sinn Féin, although liberal-leftist in their politics, can't afford to alienate the Catholic population on this issue. The SDLP would also resist any change in the abortion law for similar reasons. I suppose then, that this is one area where Catholic and Protestant can agree.

There are probably more, but there is going to have to be a reaching out. Perhaps this will be very difficult given the hundreds of years that go into it, but I think that the survival of both Catholic and Protestant populations in Northern Ireland is dependent on cutting the tie to Great Britain and cutting the tie to the Irish Republic. Both can then try to maintain their own cultures within this - how shall I put this? - within this 'island' of cultural and religious sanity. The Republic has become a force for anti-Catholicism.

You've just answered a point I was about to make. Within the past five years, this whole Politically Correct notion has gathered considerable force down in the Republic. All the various things that made the Republic distinctive have been eroded. With a certain amount of prosperity, EU money etc., all sorts of things have been swallowed that would never have been entertained twenty years ago. Politicians and the media are now talking of ...Eire as a 'multicultural society'. Now, just as forty years or so ago, nobody voted for



Great Britain to become a multicultural society there has been no referendum in the Republic to accept a peaceful invasion and to transform it into one either. Yet it has virtually become Holy Writ that transforming the Republic into a multicultural society is A Good Thing.

If you had told those fellows in the Post Office in 1916 that they were to have a multicultural society they would have come out and surrendered right away. What were they fighting for?

Yes. What's the point of having a separate Ireland if your won institutions are going to be the same as, for example Somalia?

Absolutely.

It makes 'Ireland' just a geographical term. It upturns the old republican song, "Ireland, once a Province shall be a Nation once again." It should be rewritten, "Ireland, once a Nation shall be a Province once again." Only this time instead of a Province of Britain it will be a province of the whole world.

Yes. That's just another argument for why these ties should be cut. If the Catholic population of Ulster values its identity then the Republic can only bring it down. It can only hurt those values, their own Catholic identity. Of course, the problem here lies in Rome. Rome since Vatican II has slowly but surely been losing its own faith in itself. It strikes me as similar to Protestants and the Monarchy. Here's this romantic link to your leader who is supposedly the Defender of the Faith. Well, Queen Elizabeth II is not the defender of the faith and Pope John Paul II is not the defender of the faith.

In another of your Third Way articles, you mentioned that nationalists of European descent tend to be, "united by just a sense of impending doom." What did you mean by that?

Well, we are all playing for a football team losing 3-0 or 4-0 with three minutes to go in the game. Over the past two hundred or so years of history, and especially since World War II, there has been a slow erosion of faith and identity in Europe. There is a sense of desperation that if something is not done that we won't be able to reverse things. There are two things that threaten the West. One is liberalism, which is the destruction of faith and values and culture. The other is multiracialism or multiculturalism which is essentially a peaceful invasion and take-over of these countries. Both of these things are hard to turn back the clock on once they have been done. Take America, for example. It's almost impossible to envision how we can possibly turn back the clock in America on the multiracial thing. In terms of religion and culture the problem is again that once education is in the hands of liberal-leftists so future generations are all ruined. I think that's where the desperation comes from. People don't see an easy way to score these four goals in three minutes.

Don't you think, though that there's some sort of desperation on the part of the liberal-left too? Do they not fear that those goals may yet be scored? Have you noticed that they seem to want to close down everything they don't run? For example, they seem to be very afraid of the internet because it allows everyone to become their own publisher. I notice in today's news

that the FBI has got a new computer, which it wants to link up to all the ISPs in America so as to dissect e-mails and similar communications. The British government has its Regulation of Investigatory Powers Bill which also makes it an offence not to give up your encryption key or password when 'asked' to do so by the security services. The penalty is two years in prison. All this new repressive State apparatus is justified in the name of combating drug-dealing, terrorism and paedophilia. Doesn't this suggest that there is still fear in the liberal-left establishment that people might waken up and say, "Hey, we've had enough!"?

The internet terrifies them. As you say, it's a means of communication they can't control. They control TV. They control radio, the movies and popular music. Here's a form of communication that can reach large numbers of people that they can't control. That's why they want to pass all sorts of legislation to chain it down. I think the thing that frightens them is mass apathy. In America few people actually vote. I don't know about England, but in America less than half of the population votes. So, over there, Big Brother totalitarian leftism does not really have the loyalty of the people. They have ripped the soul out of people so that they are apathetic, watch TV and worry about their careers and that's it. But people are not really with them. I think that bothers them a lot. People are not voting. Why aren't they voting? It's not that they really control people's minds. They have made politics, religion and ethnic culture irrelevant to most people. That has a certain kernel of hope because at least they are not on the other side. They might parrot some of the clichés but they don't necessarily mean them.

So, if a turnaround comes about the clichés they parrot could be ours? Like Strom Thurmond perhaps? The things he said fifty years ago could become the new orthodoxy once again in a few years' time.

Exactly. But the thing is that what we say makes so much more sense that it would be easier. They wouldn't have to parrot them because of fear. It would be people saying the truth as they experience it.

Today many people think, "We know this is true, but you just can't say it."

Yes. "Oh really? Oh, you thought that too?" Everybody knows what a disaster multiracialism has been in New York City but nobody will say it. Everybody knows it. Everybody thinks it. If we just tell people, "You know, you really have to say what you think", a lot of people just might say it. And going to religious issues, everybody feels that traditional families with religious values who go to church or synagogue live much more balanced fulfilled lives than what happens to families today.

Everybody knows this. Everybody realises it but no-one wants to say it. I think that if somehow you can break through this it might become an avalanche. Unlike the truths in the American Declaration of Independence, these truths really are self-evident.

What about the interesting case of Austria where a national-populist party managed to get into government because it gained a respectable vote? There was a hysterical reaction from the European Union, especially from the socialist Portuguese presidency. Bill Clinton, Tony Blair and the Israeli government all jumped on to







# Ulster Update

Dave Kerr

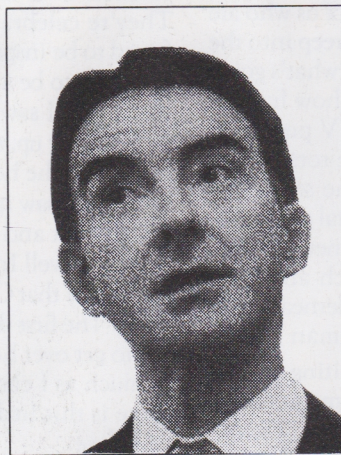
According to much of the media coverage of Northern Ireland politics, things are looking up. Direct rule has ended. A new devolved partnership government is in place under the auspices of the Good Friday Agreement.

Peter Mandelson, the arch spin doctor who is working out his penance by serving as the current Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, repeatedly claims that the Agreement and the toytown that comes with it will 'ensure a return to normal democratic politics and an agreed future'. Progress is only being held back by a bunch of reactionary unionist nay Sayers and a handful of evil terrorist dissidents on both sides who don't want peace.

If only things were quite so simple. Opposition to the Agreement is much more widespread than the media say and this opposition does not only come from fringe extremists. There is much in the Agreement that deserves criticism from any reasonable person. The Stormont Assembly does not represent 'normal democratic politics'. Stormont isn't a parliament. It's a glorified native sub-assembly, which has already been suspended and reinstated at will by Ulster's colonial overlord, Peter Mandelson. It's entirely subordinate to Westminster and Leinster House, via the North-South Ministerial Council.

Since the Good Friday Agreement was signed it doesn't matter who you vote for, the same government will get in! 'Under the d'Hondt system the UUP and the SDLP have three ministers each whilst Sinn Féin and the DUP get two ministers in proportion to the percentage of votes won in the 1998 Assembly election. All that can change is the balance of parties within the permanent regime and what party exercises which portfolio. Because power-sharing is by 'right' rather than a voluntary coalition agreement between two or more parties, this amounts to a four-party dictatorship. Is this four party state four times as democratic as a one party state? I don't think so.

Stormont's fundamental flaw is that it institutionalises sectarianism. It does this by insisting that all Assembly members have to register their designation of identity as British 'unionist' or Irish 'nationalist'. This of course marginalises those groups who would wish to tread any kind of third way beyond unionism and republicanism. Important votes are only carried in the Assembly if they gain a majority of the votes of each designation'. The votes of minor parties such as the Women's Coalition are



Peter Mandelson

ignored in such cases. This allows no opportunity for the people to break away from the chains of sectarianism.

Indeed, sectarian passions are likely to grow as ministers are perceived to be looking after the interests of their own community rather than that of the whole country. This has already happened when the Sinn Féin health minister, Bairbre de Brún, decided to close the maternity unit at Belfast City Hospital close to the city centre in favour of the maternity unit at the Royal Victoria Hospital in her own constituency. Similar controversies are bound to occur in other ministries soon, especially as the Executive has no concept of collective responsibility. This is hardly a recipe for political stability, nor is the provision for a vote every seven years on Ulster's constitutional status. Indeed, it seems clear that the Agreement is not seen by either the British or Irish governments as a final settlement of the conflict but as a transitional stage on the way to some form of All-island State.

In addition to these political and constitutional objections, the British and Irish governments are actively appeasing the use and the threatened use of violence from the Provisional IRA and the mainstream loyalist paramilitary groups. Such groups have been able to carve out their own territorial fiefdoms with virtually no criticism from Mandelson who instead is seeking to dismantle the police force. With Mandelson looking the other way, the Provos have been able to impose their own intimidatory form of rough justice in West Belfast and other republican areas.

In the Shankill Road area, two pro-Agreement loyalist groups are murdering each other's members in a vicious internecine feud. Despite the blood on the streets, Mandelson assures us that all the mainstream paramilitary ceasefires are intact because the attacks are happening within each community. This is of little comfort to the scores of families forced out of their homes by hammer-wielding gangs in recent weeks.

Ulster's peace process offers a phony peace built on appeasement, lies and deceit. This may be a good deal for the British government which is able to avoid seeing more expensive Baltic Exchange and Bishopsgate bombs in London.

It's not much fun for the long suffering people of Belfast or Omagh who must bear the brunt of what has become Ulster's cold war.